

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

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R 271530Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7436

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4857

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS-GENEVA CONFERENCE: BUFFUM-TURK REP ULMAN  
CONVERSATION JULY 27.

REF: ANKARA 5918

SUMMARY. I MET FOR OVER AN HOUR JULY 27 WITH HALUK ULMAN, PERSONAL REP OF PRIMIN ECEVIT, WHO GAVE ME APPARENTLY FRANK AND CERTAINLY FULL EXPOSITION OF TURK OBJECTIVES AT THIS CONFERENCE AND ON CYPRUS. HE REITERATED THAT THERE COULD BE NO RETURN TO STATUS QUO ANTE, THAT 1960 CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM HAD NOT AND COULD NOT WORK, AND THAT TURKS OPPOSED RETURN OF MAKARIOS. MORE IMMEDIATELY HE MADE CLEAR THAT MINIMAL TURKISH POSITION FOR THIS CONFERENCE IS COMMUNIQUE WHICH NOT NLY DEALS WITH CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS BUT WHICH EXPLICITLY POINTS TO LONGER-TERM SOLUTION, I.E. TWO AUTONOMOUS "ADMINISTRATIONS" ON ISLAND COORDINATED AT TOP BY GREEK CYPRIOT PRESIDENT AND TURK CYPRIOT VICE PRESIDENT. HE HEDGED SLIGHTLY AS TO WHETHER TURK MILITARY OPERATIONS ON CYPRUS ARE ENDED.

1. TURK DEPUTY (FROM ISTANBUL) AND FORMER PROFESSOR HALUK ULMAN, WHO IS ONE OF TWO POLITICIANS ACCOMPANYING TURK DEL, ASKED TO SEE ME MORNING JULY 27. HIS POSITION IS THAT OF PERSONAL REP OF PRIMIN ECEVIT FOR WHOM HE ALSO ACTS AS FOREIGN POLICY ADVIER. WHEN I SAW HIM HE REFERRED TO HIS AIRPORT CONVERSATION WITH AMB MACOMBER (REFTEL). I

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TOLD HIM MACOMBER HAD ALSO REPORTED CONVERSATION TO

ME AND THAT I WAS DELIGHTED TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH HIM.

2. ULMAN SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE FRANKEST POSSIBLE EXPOSITION OF TURK POSITION AND THAT HE PARTICULARLY WANTED TO BE CLEAR ABOUT TURK OBJECTIVES HERE IN GENEVA AND ON ISLAND. HE BEGAN BY SAYING THAT TURKS HAD "NO INTENTION TO INVADE CYPRUS" BUT WERE THERE TO RESTORE PEACE AND SECURITY AND ALSO TO PROTECT TURKISH CYPRIOTS. BUT THIS WAS NOT ALL. THE TURKS WERE NOT HAPPY WITH 1960 CONSTITUTION AND WERE DETERMINED TO FIND A "NEW LEGALITY."

3. I ASKED WHETHER HE MEANT THE 1960 CONSTITUTION AS A FORM WAS NO GOOD OR WAS HE REFERRING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS, E.G. DENKTASH HAD TOLD ME SEVERAL TIMES SOME YEARS AGO THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM WAS MAKARIOS' REFUSAL TO SIMPLEMENT THE CONSTITUTION. ULMAN WAS EMPATHATIC THAT THE OLD SYSTEM WOULD NOT WORK; THAT WAS WHY THE TURKS WERE PROPOSING A PACKAGE DEAL HERE IN GENEVA. THE TURKS WERE PREPARED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES ABSOLUTELY TO THE OBSERVANCE OF A CEASE-FIRE BUT NOT WITHOUT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. IN THEIR VIEW A CEASE-FIRE WAS USELESS WITHOUT A SYSTEM WHICH PERMITTED THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS TO LIVE IN PEACE. IN SHORT, A COMMUNIQUE WHICH SAID ALL HAD AGREED ON A CEASE-FIRE AND THAT IN ONE WEEK TALKS WOULD BEGIN ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WAS UNACCEPTABLE. THE COMMUNIQUE MUST AT LEAST IN GENERAL TERMS DEAL WITH A CONSTITUTIONAL OUTLINE RELEVANT TO A PERMANENT SOLUTION. THIS COULD ONLY BE THE "RESTORTATION OF TWO AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATIONS" DIRECTED RESPECTIVELY BY THE HEADS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES WITH THE COORDINATION OF THEIR ACTIVITIES ENSURED BY THE PRESIDENT (GREEK CYPRIOT) AND VICE PRES (TURK CYPRIOT) OF CYPRUS. THIS ARRANGEMENT WOULD APPARENTLY ALSO ENTAIL SOME KIND OF DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION BECAUSE IT WOULD INCLUDE IMMEDIATE AGREEMENT THAT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO DIPLOMATIC ACTS AND DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS WOULD BE SIGNED JOINTLY BY THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. ULMAN SAID TURKS WOULD NOT STICK ON EXACT LANGUAGE BUT THESE ELEMENTS MUST BE SOMEHOW INCLUDED IN

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COMMUNIQUE.

4. I OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS OF COURSE A MATTER BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TURKS AND THAT I UNDERSTOOD THE TWO FONMINS WERE DISCUSSING THEM NOW. I WISHED TO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT MUCH DEPENDED ON ACTIONS ON THE ISLAND. I NOTED THAT THE USG WAS REALISTIC AND HAD BEEN QUIET WHILE TURKISH MILITARY OPERATIONS WERE GOING ON (ULMAN

INTERJECTED YES, AND PRIMIN ECEVET HAS ASKED ME TO  
THANK YOU). I WENT ON THAT U.S. UNDERSTOOD THAT THE  
TURKS MUST PROTECT THEIR PEOPLE AND THAT WE WISHED BE  
HELPFUL IN AVOIDING CONDEMNATION OF THE TURKS EITHER IN  
GENEVA OR IN NEW YORK. BUT, I ASKED, WHEN WILL THE  
CONSOLIDATION PHASE BE COMPLETE? WE HAD HAD THE  
IMPRESSION LAST NIGHT THAT THE MILITARY PHASE WAS OVER  
BUT APPARENTLY IT WAS NOT. IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT  
WE UNDERSTAND WITH ABSOLUTE CLARITY WHAT WERE TURKISH  
OBJECTIVES. ULMAN ANSWERED CATEGORICALLY, IF THE

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R 271540Z JUL 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7437

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4857

EXDIS

GREEKS AGREE TO TURK COMMUNIQUE, WE STOP. I ASKED  
IF THAT MEANT THAT IF GREEKS DIDN'T ACCEPT, WOULD THE  
TURKS KEEP GOING. HE RESPONDED, NOT NECESSARILY.

5. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS  
AND THEIR RELATION TO PRESENT TALKS, ULMAN POINTED  
OUT THAT CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM ON CYPRUS HAD NOW COLLAPSED  
AND THAT, DE FACTO, THERE EXISTED ONLY TWO COMMUNITY  
ADMINISTRATIONS. TURKS WISHED, IN GENEVA COMMUNIQUE,  
TO FORCE GREEKS TO EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF THIS DE FACTO  
SITUATION. THIS MEANT NEITHER ENOISIS NOR ANNEXATION.  
TURKEY WAS COMMITTED TO AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS, BUT  
THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE CLEAR RECOGNITION THAT ENOISIS WITH  
GREECE WOULD MEAN INSTANT ANNEXATION BY TURKEY OF THOSE  
PARTS OF ISLAND UNDER TURKISH CONTROL.

6. I ASKED IF A LARGE TURKISH MILITARY PRESENCE ON THE

ISLAND WAS GOING TO LEAD TO GREEK CLAIMS FOR A LARGER MILITARY PRESENCE THERE. ULMAN ANSWERED HEATEDLY THAT THE GREEKS ALREADY HAD 40,000 MEN. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT MOST OF THOSE MEN WERE GREEK CYPRIOTS, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME MAINLAND OFFICERS, HE BRUSHED MY OBSERVATION ASIDE, SAYING THAT IT WAS ALL THE SAME AND THAT TURKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT INTRODUCTION OF MORE GREEK FORCES ON THE ISLAND.

7. WHEN I ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE DEMILITARIZATION  
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OF THE ISLAND, ULMAN REPLIED THAT WHEN HIS PARTY WAS IN OPPOSITION THEY HAD SUGGESTED THAT. BUT TODAY THE SITUATION WAS DIFFERENT AND HE WAS OPPOSED TO DEMILITARIZATION. FOR ONE THING, THE BRITISH BASES WERE ALREADY THERE AND FOR ANOTHER THERE MUST BE FORCE AVAILABLE TO ENSURE THE IMMEDIATE SECURITY OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITIES. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY THAT AT A LATER TIME DEMILITARIZATION MIGHT BE DESIRABLE, PARTICULARLY IF NATO ALLIES CONCURRED.

8. I PROBED ULMAN AS TO WHETHER TURKS WERE TAKING GREEK AND GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICAL SITUATIONS INTO THEIR THINKING, E.G. ON ASSUMPTION THAT IT WAS IN TURKISH INTERESTS THAT MODERATE KARAMANLIS AND CLERIDES GOVERNMENTS SURVIVE, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT TURKS NOT HUMILIATE THEM. ULMAN READILY AGREED BUT DISCUSSION AROUND THIS POINT DID NOT SUGGEST TO ME THAT THIS WAS A MAJOR FACTOR IN TURKISH THINKING.

9. TURKISH LACK OF ENTHUSIASM FOR UN AND UNFICYP WAS APPARENT. WHEN I MENTIONED THE UN WAS PROTECTING 5 TO 10,000 TURK CYPRIOTS, HE BRUSHED BY REMARKS ASIDE. RECURRENT THEME WITH ULMAN (AND ALL OTHERS TURKS HERE) IS THAT ONLY TURKISH FORCES CAN PROTECT TURKS. IN COURSE OF THIS DISCUSSION HE REFERRED TO DOCUMENTS BEING CIRCULATED BY GREEK DELEGATION CITING CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS. HIS ANSWER WAS THAT TURKS ALSO HAD LOTS OF DOCUMENTS BUT DID NOT FEEL THAT THEIR CIRCULATION WOULD ADVANCE OBJECTIVES OF CONFERENCE.

10. COMMENT . BASED ON THIS CONVERSATION AND OTHER EVIDENCE WE HAVE SEEN, IT IS APPARENT THAT TURKS INTEND TO MAINTAIN MILITARY PRESSURE ON CYPRUS UNTIL THEY GET AT LEAST GENERAL AGREEMENT HERE ON THE OUTLINES OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. THAT SETTLEMENT EVIDENTLY MUST BE FEDERATION ON THE ISLAND, WHICH HAS BEEN A LONG-TIME POSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLES PARTY TO WHICH BOTH ULMAN AND ECEVIT BELONG. IT WAS INTERESTING

TO NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT ULMAN NEVER USED THE WORD  
"FEDERATION", WHICH NO DOUBT HE REALIZES HAS BECOME  
A SLOGAN ANATHEMA TO THE GREEKS. ALTHOUGH WE ARE TOO  
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FAR FROM THE SCENE HERE TO MAKE CATEGORIC JUDGEMENTS,  
OUR FEEL IS THAT THE TURKS HAVE GOTTEN PRETTY MUCH WHAT  
THEY WANT ON THE GROUND IN CYPRUS BUT WILL CONTINUE  
TO CONSOLIDATE AND WILL KEEP SUFFICIENT AMBIGUITY IN  
THEIR AGREEMENT TO A CEASE-FIRE TO ENSURE THAT PRESSURE  
STAYS ON THE GREEKS TO AGREE NOW--NOT IN A LATER CON-  
FERENCE--TO NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR  
CYPRUS. ABRAMS

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